and envy at these fair creatures who continued work and home in one long pleasant Burmese continuity. They are girls from the ages of sixteen upward. Probably their parents set them up in these stalls, each separated from its neighbour by a stack of cotton bales, six or seven stalls on a long platform. They come there in the mornings, dressed in crisp muslin jackets and bright longyis, their faces powdered with thanakha and the Five B's, flowers in their hair, and fragrant ground bark on their hands and feet. They open up shop and dust with feather brooms while they shout across to each other the news of the previous evening. Then the whole day unfolds, calling out to food sellers and treating their friends to a succession of delicacies, button-holing the young boy who hawks magazines and tuppenny novels, and reclining against a pile of the tha-yet-hte longyis to read these romances, helping each other to fold up the pieces after a troublesome customer has gone, anything but making an earnest business of their profession. They always looked so cool and pretty and indifferent beside the small Indian storekeepers who flanked their platforms and solicited passers-by for patronage. "Oh to be a bazaar girl!" I still thought when I was in the University; "to pass unchaperoned days, reading novels and eating sweets, to have time to be powdered and neatly dressed, and only now and then be disturbed by someone who wants to buy a longyi." 361 438

Our starched white muslin jackets are made out of fine transparent muslin manufactured in England, and sent out in bales of 11 yards with the quality stamped in Burmese characters, and on the jacket a florid illustration of the quality-name—names such as *Nat-thami, Sein ta-hsok, Shwe Pan-gaing, Mè Nyo:* Heavenly Damsel, Cluster of Diamonds, Golden Spray of Flowers, Dusky Maiden—and imported by both Indian and Burmese traders. 294 439 563

The making up of the jackets was the monopoly of Chinese tailors; our *tayok-kalay*, little Chinaman, lived in the crowded quarter of Yegyaw in a barnlike room which was carpenter's shop at one end and tailor's at the other. The tailor's end had a row of shelves along the wall in to which the finished garments and uncut material were shoved, higgledy-piggledy in paper bags on which the merest scribble denoted owner and date of order. In front of this was the counter on which the cutter was at work, and separating it from the carpentery end was a table at which one or two half-clad men always seemed to be eating noodles or reading a Chinese newspaper, of which there were three in Rangoon. In spite of this, the tayok-kalay never confused an order for garments which had to fit so meticulously and always delivered them in a snow-white condition. He charged 9 annas for each fine handsewn garment, and for modern girls managed to cut twelve out of the eleven-yard piece. This 294 563 441 465

294 563 441 466 was sweated labour indeed. Possibly he paid the cutter two pice, the seamstress three annas, the button-loop maker two annas, for each garment. We met one of the button-loop makers one evening as she brought a pile of finished garments, a Chinese girl of ten years, with eyes which looked tired from two years of exquisite hemming on the ten button loops of each Burmese jacket, nine jackets each day. When we had got our jackets the tayok-kalay added up our three bills into one on his abacus. There may be many ways of using an [405 803] abacus, but our tayok-kalay's was bafflingly simple. He had each bead on the first rung representing one anna, each on the second one representing four of these, that is four annas; and each on the third rung representing four of these again, that is one rupee, there being sixteen annas in the rupee. When he wanted to add Rs. 5/10 and Rs. 9/11 for example, he represented the first sum on the three rungs above the median bar by drawing down towards it, two beads of the first rung, two of the second and five of the third. Then he represented the second sum on the rungs below the bar by drawing up to it three beads of the first rung, two of the second and nine of the third. He then counted up the sum of all the beads along the bar, pushing back every four beads of the first rung and pulling down one of the second as equivalent, pushing back every four of the second and pulling down one of the third again as its equivalent. All this he did with lightning speed, and, counting finally one bead on the first rung, one on the second and fifteen on the third, he announced Rs. 15/5, a sum which my sisters had arrived at long before by mental arithmetic and had, in vain, been trying to thrust on his notice.

441 563 I needed also a superior quality comb to wind my hair around in a knot at the back of my head, having given away the old one I had as a curiosity in England. My mother took me to the west end of Rangoon where the Chinese community are concentrated in about six or seven streets, mostly narrow streets of three storeyed houses packed closely together, containing valuable ivory and mother-of-pearl inlaid chairs within and jewellery behind safe doors, but bordering deep and dirty drains and congestion in the street. These were houses of rich men who got their money from trading in indigenous products; by long years of industry building up lakhs of money from the supplying of onions, coconuts, potatoes and other dry goods to the retail shops in bazaars. In the Strand running along the south end of these streets and in the broad Latter Street in the centre of the quarter, were the big emporiums of these traders. One of my father's greatest friends U Chein Swan was a Burma Chinese of this description, and we stayed for short periods in his three-storeyed house in 20th Street when we were children. With

matters, and cases occurred in which he unwittingly signed away title to his property, thinking he was only signing 'loan papers.' In some cases, Burmese cultivators, encouraged by moneylenders, borrowed sums greater than actually required for crop financing and used the excess for sponsorship of ceremonial activities, dramatic presentations, purchasing imported goods never before needed, and so on. 426

The result of this was the tremendous growth of rural indebtedness and much foreclosure by creditors holding mortgages on the land. By the 1930's, about half the cultivated land of Lower Burma was owned by landlords, largely absentee. The once independent Burmese land holder was converted into a rural tenant, or, in many instances, a landless agricultural laborer. Many tenant farmers, dependent upon rent-racking landlords, worked from harvest to harvest with little to show for their efforts beyond perhaps enough of the crop, after payment of rent, hired help, and debts, to feed their families through the planting and growing seasons. Large numbers left agriculture for other pursuits, such as petty clerical jobs in the towns and itinerant trading in imported goods. In Tadagale, for example, in 1949-50 it was possible to record cases of cultivators in such difficult straits that after paying their help and taxes, they did not have enough paddy left for the family granary to last until the next harvest, and were thus in the position of having to purchase in the market, at inflated prices, the very commodity they produced. 178 426 463

2. The Shift in Tadagale. The economic shift within the village may be summarized in terms of modes of employment, resources, imports and exports. 178

a. Employment. Rice agriculture has been decreasing as the land has passed, over time, into the hands of absentee landlords and independent owner-cultivators have become fewer. The tenant farmers are likewise small in numbers. [243] [427]

The manufacture of clothing has also diminished. Formerly, cotton was spun and woven in the village. Now, clothing is very largely obtained by purchase of imported piece goods in Rangoon and having it finished by city tailors and seamstresses. [294]

Oil pressing as an occupation has disappeared. The one remaining presser of oil seeds recently abandoned this work because of the difficulty and high cost of obtaining sesamum seeds from central Burma. [249]

In a few occupations there seems to have been no notable change. These are carpentry and work in bamboo and thatch, which keep a few people occupied; itinerant selling of prepared foods; shopkeeping; and medical practice (indigenous medicine). 178 463

Several occupations are new or increasing in the village. Agricultural wage labor has increased as more people have been unable to secure a living as tenant farmers and have gone to work for others in and near the village. Vegetable gardening, always important because of the nearby Rangoon markets, has become a leading occupation, especially since the beginning of the insurrections in 1948 which reduced the supply of fresh vegetables from the north.

As motor transport has replaced animal transport over the years, the men of Tadagale have been increasingly employed in operating buses. Related to this is the establishment of a repair shop by a motor mechanic to service the buses owned by villagers.

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

175 622 562 acting for her husband, and she would not have been pleased that her name should appear.

'A good wife,' I said to Saw Ka.

'Like many,' he answered.

462 But in her own line she has no objection to publicity. I have said that nearly all women work, and that is so. Married or unmarried, from the age of sixteen or seventeen, almost every woman has some occupation besides her own duties. In the higher classes she will have property of her own to manage; in the lower classes she will have some trade. I cannot find that in Burma there have ever been certain occupations told off for women in which they may work, and others tabooed to them. As there is no caste for the men, so there is none for the women. They have been free to try their hands at anything they thought they could excel in, without any fear of public opinion. But nevertheless, as is inevitable, it has been found that there are certain trades in which women can compete successfully with men, and certain others in which they cannot. And these are not quite the same as in the West. We usually consider sewing to be a feminine 462 occupation. In Burma, there being no elaborately 294 cut and trimmed garments, the amount of sewing done is small, but that is usually done by men. Women often own and use small hand-machines, but the treadles are always used by men only. As I am writing, my Burmese orderly is sitting in the garden sewing his jacket. He is usually sewing when not sent on messages. He seems to sew very well.

Weaving is usually done by women. Under

285 H37 they were made by friends. Ma Aye Myaing and Daw Aw Zar appear to specialise in the larger mats such as used for sleeping. Mat making appears to be an occupation which in ordinary times is unimportant but it is relied heavily upon in bad times.

461 562 561 [277] 874 ● [294] The children are put to work around the house and in processing the fish at an early age. Just recently U Myaing's eldest daughter left school to learn a trade. She left one month ago from the fourth standard, to learn cheroot rolling. In another month's time she will have learnt how. She does not have to pay any fees - neither is she paid for her help. She lives with her aunt (U Myaing's sister) and has her meals there. Near their house there is also an embroidery shop which is owned by her aunt. At night U Myaing's daughter is taught embroidery and sewing by her aunt. The owner of the cheroot rolling shop is not a relative, but the women who work there are aunts and grand-aunts of the girl. When she has learnt the trade, then she will be paid between two and three rupees a day on piece work basis.

463 363 512 At present (May 1951) U Myaing is working as a sweeper in the Rangoon Municipality on a monthly wage of Rs. 80/-. There is an overseer placed over him every day. U Myaing's main job is to keep one street in town clean. He leaves his house at six and arrives at the overseer's by half past six and there a roll-call is taken of about a hundred of them. At seven he begins on his street and stops at about half-eight to go to answer the roll-call (see below for rest of schedule). He has personal contact only with the overseer, the doctor and the WUNDAUK (official). All three of them go around the town to see if they work hard enough. The WUNDAUK also comes everyday to witness the roll-call. "If we do not do good work we shall be dismissed. Everything is in their hands. But they do so after two or three warnings. We do not possess any rights at all. Sometimes offenders are sent to other streets that require harder labour. "

U Myaing's street is located in Myeni-gon, and he has to clean the street of dirt as well as clean the drains on either side.

His daily schedule at present is as follows: He rises at 4, washes his face and cleans his teeth, says his prayers and then has plain tea which Ma Aye Myaing has prepared for him. At six he leaves

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

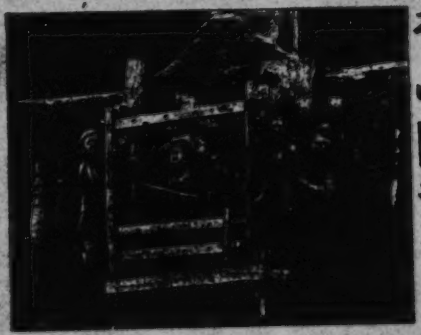
CLOTHING

No kind of wool is indigenous 286

THE LAYING OUT THE WARP.

or is spun or woven in Burma. Cæsar Frederick in 1569 mentions woollen cloth among the goods brought to Burma, *vid* Arakán. Web vests for boys and men, of European manufacture, are becoming general. The use of shoes of the European shape is bringing in the use of socks and stockings. The addition of a European shirt under the Burman jacket makes up the incongruous kit affected by the modern office clerks. With the increased use of body-linen have come the Indian washermen. The coloured stuffs are washed by the Burman women. The native dyes wash well, especially the silk dyes. An alkali-earth (*sajjya*) is found in Burma, but soap is of modern introduction, and is now sold in every bazár. Needles used to be brought to Burma from China, as well as scissors, though the latter are also fashioned in Burma; at present both are imported from Europe. Burmans work the needle from them, like other Asiatics. The work is pinned to a cushion at the head of a post planted on the work-box. The use of the thimble was unknown until tailors came over from India, but is now general. The bulk of the tailoring is in the hands of immigrants from China; but their prejudice against the sewing-machine is helping to transfer the business to the Burman women. Nearly every well-to-do family in the towns has its sewing-machine.

291 [283 439] [296 463] 439 413 286 [177] 463 294



131. BURMESE CARVING OF WEAVING-LOOM.

462 [532] 512 515

At sunrise the women start with their water-pots for the day's supply, and again before they cook the evening meal, which finishes the day's work. On the morning errand they do the most of their washing. In the evening they carry a spare cloth to change for the one they bathe in, which they wash and coil into a pad to put between the head and the water-

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 APl Burma
Burmese AP4

312
[271]
[178
352]
[294]

128. SEWING CLOTH.

surface water. In some parts of the country the water is brackish. Shallow tanks with built-up earthen borders are made to store the rain-water for drinking, and, unlike the tanks in India, these are kept free from contamination. There is always a separate stand for the pots of drinking-water, either in the house itself, or within reaching distance, with a roof of its own. The domestic shrine and flower-stand (*nyaung ye-ô zin*) is frequently associated with the water-stand. Apart from the advantage of keeping away the drip the isolation of the water-stand is so marked as to suggest a religious intention—possibly of forgotten animistic import—in addition to the obvious one of a boon to the traveller, in virtue of which the water-stand is frequently decorated in the Buddhistic religious style (No. 158). As already noted, dwelling-houses are not fit places for images of the Buddha, but only temples. In the houses, the Buddha is venerated by keeping his sacred tree green in the flower-vases on the *nyaung ye-ô zin*, which is often richly decorated. The shrine takes its name from the *ficus*, but the plants actually used are such as keep green longest in the shade, especially the aloe (*môt*). The observance has very possibly been transferred from a pre-buddhistic one (No. 157).

372
[312]
[354]

The native method of getting fire is shown in No. 141. Except in the great plains, there is enough waste land about the settlements, bearing trees and scrub where dry faggots may be collected. Logs of dry timber are dragged in, and firewood for cooking split off as required, or billets are carted in and stored against the rainy season. In the cold season, fires are often made on the ground in front of the houses, for the inmates to sit around. But in general,

129. VILLAGE WELL.